

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 /061 W

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O R 021455Z MAY 76

FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS

TO AMEMBASSY NAIROBI NIACT IMMEDIATE

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4674

AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY ACCRA

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY BANGUI

AMEMBASSY BAMAKO

AMEMBASSY BANJUL

AMEMBASSY COTONOU

AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY FREETOWN

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

AMEMBASSY LILONGWE

AMEMBASSY LOME

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

AMEMBASSY NIAMEY

AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA

AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TANANARIVE

USMISSION USUN

AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

AMCONSUL CAPETOWN

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CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SF, RH, WA, MZ, NI, US

SUBJECT: GARBA TALKS ABOUT SECRETARY'S LUSAKA SPEECH AND  
SOUTHER AFRICAN SITUATION

1. IN A MEETING MAY 30 WITH EXTERNAL AFFAIRS COMMISSIONER GARBA, I ASKED HIS VIEWS ON THE SECRETARY'S SPEECH. HE SAID HE HAD READ IT AND THOUGHT IT WAS "QUITE GOOD - IN FACT, MUCH BETTER THAN I HAD ANTICIPATED." GARBA SAID THAT ALTHOUGH HE HAD HOPED FOR MORE ON SOUTH AFRICA, THE CLARITY AND FIRMNESS OF THE STATEMENT ON RHODESIA REPRESENTED "A REAL TURN IN US POLICY." IT WOULD BE A "SIGNAL TO SMITH AND THOSE COUNTRIES SUPPORTING HIM" THAT FURTHER STRUGGLE AGAINST MAJORITY RULE WAS FUTILE. "NOW WE WILL WAIT TO SEE WHETHER YOU REALLY IMPLEMENT YOUR PLEDGES; BYRD AMENDMENT REPEAL WILL BE ONE OF THE TESTS." IF THE US "DEVIATED ONE INCH" FROM THE ANNOUNCED TEN-POINT ACTION PROGRAM, AMERICAN CREDIBILITY IN INDEPENDENT AFRICA WOULD BE GRAVELY WEAKENED. I TOLD HIM HE COULD COUNT ON THE PRESIDENT'S AND THE SECRETARY'S FULL COMMITMENT TO THESE PLEDGES.

2. I ASKED GARBA WHAT WERE THE PRINCIPAL IMPRESSIONS HE BROUGHT BACK FROM THE VISITS HE HAD JUST COMPLETED TO MAPUTO, DAR ES SALAAM AND LUSAKA. HE CITED MACHEL'S CONFIDENT OPTIMISM THAT SMITH WAS DOOMED EVEN IF HE MOBILIZED EVERY WHITE RHODESIAN. I ASKED WHETHER MACHEL WAS EQUALLY CONFIDENT THAT SOUTH AFRICA WOULD STAY OUT OF THE FIGHT IN SUCH A CIRCUMSTANCE. GARBA SAID HE HADN'T ASKED MACHEL THAT, BUT HE HIMSELF THOUGHT VORSTER WAS RESIGNED TO AN INDEPENDENT BLACK-RULED ZIMBABWE - "AND IS PREPARED TO DROP NAMIBIA TOO, FOR THAT MATTER."

3. I ASKED ABOUT DIVISIONS WITHIN THE ANC AND WHETHER THERE MIGHT BE SOME KIND OF "THIRD FORCE" POSSIBILITY. HE SAID HE HOPED SO, SINCE NIGERIA WAS "FED UP" WITH BOTH NKOMO AND MUZOREWA/SITHOLE. HE SAID HE LOOKED FOR SOME KIND OF UNIFIED MILITARY ALLIANCE OF FREEDOM FIGHTERS OUT OF WHICH MIGHT EMERGE A NEW POLITICAL LEADERSHIP. HE SAID HE HAD BEEN EMBARRASSED BY AN UNWANTED ENCOUNTER WITH

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NKOMO AT THE LUSAKA AIRPORT, WHERE HE THOUGHT NKOMO WAS PERHAPS AWAITING SECRETARY KISSINGER'S ARRIVAL A HALF HOUR LATER. NKOMO REITERATED HIS DESIRE TO COME TO LAGOS FOR TALKS WITH THE FMG, BUT GARBA TOLD HIM THAT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE. GARBA TOLD ME HE WAS NOT READY TO RECEIVE REPRESENTATIVES OF EITHER GROUP.

4. COMMENT: GARBA APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN SURPRISED BY THE TENOR, SUBSTANCE AND EMPHASIS OF THE SECRETARY'S SPEECH. HE WAS CLEARLY

PARTICULARLY IMPRESSED WITH THE UNEQUIVOCAL STAND THAT THE SPEECH  
TAKES AGAINST THE SMITH REGIME AND IN SUPPORT FOR MAJORITY RULE FOR  
RHODESIA. AS FOR HIS OWN RECENT CONVERSATIONS WITH NYERERE,  
KAUNDA AND MACHEL, HIS PRINCIPAL  
CONCLUSION IS THAT THE TIME FOR TALKING IS PAST IN RHODESIA AND THAT  
FIGHTING IS THE ONLY WAY TO PRODUCE MAJORITY RULE. THIS CONCLUSION  
WAS PUBLICLY ARTICULATED IN AN FMG PRESS RELEASE APRIL 29  
ANNOUNCING A GRANT OF \$1.6 MILLION TO MOZAMBIQUE IN RESPONSE TO  
MOZAMBIQUE'S CLOSING ITS BORDERS WITH RHODESIA. THE RELEASE  
CONTAINED THE STATEMENT THAT "NO ONE CAN HOPE TO BRING MR. IAN  
SMITH AND HIS SUPPORTERS TO REASON THROUGH DIALOGUE - THE WAR ...  
MUST THEREFORE BE PURSUED  
WITH EVER INCREASING VIGOUR."  
EASUM

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## Message Attributes

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